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THE NEW AGE

EDITOR: H.D.RAJAH.

MARCH 1936.
Vol. 11. No. 10.

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The 40 Hour Week—Miserable Plight of the Unemployed—The Pope and Peace

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The New Age

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THE POST-WAR WORLD

By **V. Rangaswamy Iyengar**

The following is the concluding portion of a series of articles that have appeared in the New Age.

Authorship and remuneration. The State Publishing House buys from the author for a complete lump sum payment, the completed manuscript. The minimum payment for a work of fiction is 3,000 rubles (150 dollars Rs. 450 per sheet of 16 pages; for Elementary School book 150 rubles per sheet; for translating and editing a foreign book from 75 to 100 rubles per 8 seet; for an academic work of advanced kind 150 to 200 rubles per sheet. The young and unknown writers are subsidised for undergoing training in their arts.

The writing of books and plays is the most highly paid occupation. One author in Moscow is reported to have received for his writings as much as 75,000 rubles in a year (which are nearly equal to Rs. 90,000).

Education. Four fifths (4/5) of all the children attend any sort of schools. There are thousand (1,000) technical colleges in the U. S. S. R. In these institutions effective preference for admission is given to the sons and daughters of proletarait parents; they are given substantial scholarships. When the income of their families goes short the Government administration provides with full ration of milk, clothing, and schooling together with hospital and medical attendance.

Games and recreation. Every institution makes ample provision for both in-door and out-door play and recreation.

Indoor work. Toys are deliberately planned. Miniature tools for actual use, and working models of locomotives, aeroplanes, automobiles are made. It is intended and hoped that the whole population may in time acquire "machine Sense."

Out door work.—Young people between 8 and 25 are organised in voluntary associations for diverse kinds of social service. The voluntary social workers are called "Pioneers" There are 6,000,000 Pioneers which include both boys and girls. They form into groups for services of different kinds. Backward children, are helped, in the preparation of their lessons; In liquidating illiteracy among the adults, in

clearing away of the accumulation of dirts or debris, informing stock-brigades to reinforce the workers where production is falling behind the plan or special tasks to be got through. They undertake to liquidate the excessive consumption of liquor. As an instrument of lifting the people of Russia out of dirt, disease, illiteracy, thieving and burlishness of pre-revolutionary days, the self governing democracy of youth, appears to be extraordinarily well devised.

Women's freedom.—They are placed on a footing of equality with men. There are no separate educational institutions for girls. All occupations and all positions are thrown open to both sexes. No distinction is made between the sexes in respect of wages and salaries. In every technical school nearly as many girls as boys learn to be, engineers, carpenters, electricians or mechanics.

On board the mercantile marine there is a steadily increasing number of women sailors, engineers and wireless operators. A large majority of School teachers and more than one half of the younger doctors are women. In all offices women swamp not only as Stenographers but also as translators, confidential Secretaries and responsible executive assistants.

Not a few institutions established in the U. S.S.R. are under women doctors or managers having under them many hundreds of men as well as women.

The present director of the vast Park of culture and Rest at Moscow has 3,000 men which employed in its varied establishments is a woman. Women are elected to municipal councils.

Women of Islam. A large portion as many as one-fourth, are Mohammadans. They enjoy all the previleges and rights of their sisters of other communities. They have abandoned the veil and they rejoice in being able to send their children girls as well as boys to the local Schools, to the technological colleges or the University.

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Collective farm and family life. The greatest change in the Social circumstances of the present women began only in 1925 or 1926. The change took shape of the movement for collective farming in substitution for the individual small holdings. There were mistakes and failures that accompanied its progress while the old man-peasant had only unwillingly come into the new organisation, his wife and children almost invariably rejoiced in the change.

The collective farm begins to make such improvements as to provide a modest grain store an improved dairy on modern lines, a new school building or a village hall with a club-house, with its library, its dance floor and its cinema. Each family draws by way of advance a regular monthly sum of money for its individual spendings. The collective farm is worked on factory lines. The principles under-lying the collective farm are (1) that the lands belong to the community and every family is to be supplied with products according to its needs. Rural workers have now an eight hour day. They have the pleasure of working in company. Instead of dark, silent muddy villages in the evening, they have now music and dancing, the radio, the cinema, gramophone, a growing collection of books and occasional lectures. The city world, in fact is brought to the village. The incessant lesson taught to the child and adolescence is their obligation to serve successfully, in the house hold in the school, in the factory and in the state.

The spirit in which the present generation is growing is the insistence of the development of personality in each child as the future citizen and the producer.

Self-Government is aimed at in the home and school. There is considerable freedom in sex relationship accor-

ding to choice without any sense of sin. Hyginic, self-control seems to be the dominant note that enforces responsibility for the maintenance of children. Dance halls, night clubs have been most universally suppressed. Soviet stage like Soviet film is concerned with other interests than sex. Prostitution has disappeared. Promiscuity with or without marriage is seriously reprobated by public opinion.

The great increase in personal freedom brought about by the revolution and the falling away of religious and conventional exhibitions, led in the beginning to the instability of family life.

At the same time, organised commercial vice in all the forms common to the great cities of the west rapidly diminished.

Public opinion seems to have been moving strongly in favour of stabilization and any tendency to get reckless or repeated divorce, meets with condemnation.

There is no doubt whatever that consumer's cooperation has contributed largely towards the success of the Five-year-Plan in its industrial sphere. The Russian movement, came into existence, in the latter part of the last century. It was well established, in every nook and corner of Russia and its network of organizations was controlled by its central organization at Moscow. The people in a way got accustomed to the ways of cooperation.

During the revolutionary period, the services it rendered here incalculable. At this period, all outside supplies were cut off by the blockade of the allies; there was severe famine, in the fertile province of Volga. In great Britain and elsewhere forces against capitalist order are making headway.

From the decay of this order three different types of social order are emerging. These are Fascism, Communism and Socialism.

Fascism. It is capitalist imperialism reorganised. It has discarded altogether the liberalism of the century on which the capitalist order was based. Its individualist conception is replaced by corporate conception.

Got hold of this movement and supplied to the people, from the available sources, the necessary, articles as economically as possible and saved the people from starvation and death.

An international delegation of this movement visited Russia after armistice to ascertain the true state of affairs in that country. It was surprised at the marvellous achievement of these movements in very many directions. The delegation, has made, this simple yet soul-stirring observation. "People is cooperation and cooperation is state."

During the transitory period, Lenin entrusted to this movement transport and other businesses and saw foreign business conducted through its agency. Lenin gave encouragement to it, in all possible ways.

The five year plan it has made the movement an integral of the industrial system itself is functioning, in the manner, pointed in the scheme of Mr. and Mrs. Webbe.

The political constitution envisaged in the commonwealth, was intended to fulfill the expectations of the fathers of the American as does President Hoover as infection from the slogan of the Five year plan." The purpose of these plans (plans deserving of consideration in the author's opinion) "is to stabilise industry, to eliminate profit as far as possible and ensure continuous employment to the nation's workers during the period of depression. "This in his view involves limitation of output to the probable consumptive demands and the allocation of each unit of industry of its productive quota. The article also refers to some observations of some eminent judges as regards the right attitude to be taken in respect of industry.

Constitution and this intention is more than fulfilled through the Soviet constitution in that that the Sovereignity of the people is fully indicated as the collective will, of the people gives effective expression to the threefold aspect of man from the representatives of different Schools of thoughts and interests in the United States.

Emancipation for Humanity, is only release from the bondage of capitalist, Imperialism and India's salvation is wound up with, the Salvation of the rest of the world. The present European complications are, sure to see, soon the end, of Imperialism, and, the emergence of Socialist States all over the world.

India like the Labour party in each European Country, should engage themselves in works that would he helpful for the evolution of a social order suited to her genius. India could adopt the scheme of Mr. and Mrs. Weble in the necessary modifications.

A rough outline of a plan of co-operative common wealth for India, will be given in the next issue as it is essential for carrying the work of reconstruction on right lines.

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THE RELATION OF LITERATURE TO DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM

By **Ralph Fox**

(*Being the second leeture in the series "Aspects of Dialectic materialism delivered before the Society for cultural Relations"*)

I have tried to outline for you as briefly as possible the Marxian view of the relation between literature and life. I want now to deal with the position of art and literature in a definite period of class society, in our own capitalist society.

First of all, I want to emphasize that capitalist society has placed the artist in a totally different position from that which he occupied in all preceding social systems. This, of course, is stating nothing new. Many people who were far from being Marxists have commented on the degradation of art by capitalism, but they have not understood the causes, nor seen the conditions in which a Renaissance is possible. Let us establish the facts. Capitalist industrial society, while it has enormous achievements to its credit, while it has changed the face of the world in little over a hundred years, has not produced any art which can equal the great flowering of art and literature in Europe during the sixteenth century, or the art and literature of the slave-holding Greeks. Indeed, its last fifty years, while they have shown an enormously wide increase of the numbers of people engaged in artistic activity, are remarkable for their relative sterility, their third-rate achievement. In the Communist Manifesto Marx and Engels exposed the real causes of this decline in cultural life, describing the revolutionary part played by the bourgeoisie in destroying preceding social relations :—

> " The bourgeoisie, wherever it has got the upper hand, has put an end to all feudal, patriarchal, idyllic relations. It has pitilessly torn asunder the motley feudal ties that bound man to his 'natural superiors,' and has left no other bond between man and man than naked self-interest, than callous 'cash payment.' It has drowned the most heavenly ecstasies of religious fervour, of chivalrous enthusiasm, of philistine sentimentalism, in the icy water of egotistical calculation. It has resolved personal worth into exchange value, and in place of the numberless indefeasible chartered freedoms, has set up that single, unconscionable freedom—Free Trade. In one word, for exploitation, veiled by religious and political illusions it has substituted naked, shameless, direct, brutal exploitation.
>
> " The bourgeoisie has stripped of its halo every occupation hitherto honoured and looked up to with reverent awe. It has converted the physician, the lawyer, the priest, the poet, the man of science, into its paid wage-labourers."

So capitalism has achieved a tremendous levelling process, in the course of depriving millions of small producers of their property. And the same levelling process has been brought into cultural relations. The individual has ceased to have moral or æsthetic

value, and since commodity exchange equates all things, so art also becomes a commodity and is equated to its very opposite. Formerly, in ancient or feudal society based upon the small peasant farm and handicraft production, things, including works of art, had a specific, qualitative, use value, arising from the simple, natural economy of those days. In such societies, in which slavery and serfdom were the forms of exploitation, personal relations were more direct, dependence of one man upon another was immediate and personal also, and art had a freshness, a vitality, which has been largely lost. Ruskin and William Morris saw this quite clearly, but they made the great mistake of imagining that this freshness could be recaptured by a return to mediævalism, instead of by a revolutionary destruction of the private property basis of capitalist society, a mistake from which Morris, under the influence of Marx, was beginning to free himself before his death.

Creative artists in the nineteenth century felt very deeply the new, impersonal character of the relations between men arising from the domination of capital. No less deeply did they feel the levelling of their work through the capitalist market. Money makes all things equal—a Michael Angelo to so much soap, a play by Shakespeare to a quantity of manure. Hence at one period in the nineteenth century we find the artist engaged in a vain effort to deny the world which imposes such standards upon him. Art for art's sake, a reactionary enough battle-cry, has nevertheless for a short time a progressive significance. Some artists, in desperation, deny their own work. Rimband buries himself in Central Africa, with savage cynicism trades in human bodies, in the products of the tropics at a time when these have become particularly the objects of capitalist greed. Gauguin retires to Tahiti to live with the primitive communists of Polynesia and decorates his wattle hut with masterpieces, while Cezanne flings his finished canvases into the ditch and Van Gogh ends up in an asylum for the insane. Yet at this time their friend and defender, Zola, a vague but splendidly sincere genius, is already groping towards a solution, feeling a new fire at work in the harsh and bitter, but passionate life of the working class. For, in destroying the conditions in which great art flourishes, capitalism also creates the conditions in which it becomes possible for art to reach to greater heights than ever before in human history. Yet capitalism is itself incapable of making use of those conditions, of giving birth to that art. It has for the first time created the conditions for a world art, a world literature. It has subdued the whole world to its image, it has so developed technique and production that there is no more reason for the existence of "backward" and "advanced" peoples. Let us quote the Communist Manifesto again :—

> "Constant revolutionizing of production, uninterrupted disturbance of all social conditions, everlasting uncertainty and agitation distinguish the bourgeois epoch from all earlier ones. All fixed, fast-frozen relations, with their train of ancient and venerable prejudices and opinions, are swept away, all new-formed ones become antiquated before they can ossify. All that is solid melts into air, all that is holy is profaned and man is at last compelled to face with sober senses his real conditions of life and his relations with his kind.
>
> "The need of a constantly expanding market for its products chases the bourgeoisie over the whole surface of the globe. It must nestle everywhere, settle everywhere, establish connections everywhere.
>
> "The bourgeoisie has, through its exploitation of the world market,

given a cosmopolitan character to production and consumption in every country. To the great chagrin of reactionaries, it has drawn from under the feet of industry the national ground on which it stood. All old-established national industries have been destroyed or are daily being destroyed. They are dislodged by new industries whose introduction becomes a life-and-death question for all civilized nations, by industries that no longer work up indigenous raw material, but raw material, drawn from the remotest zones; industries whose products are consumed not only at home, but in every quarter of the globe. In place of the old wants, satisfied by the production of the country, we find new wants, requiring for their satisfaction the products of distant lands and climes. In place of the old local and national seclusion and self-sufficiency, we have intercourse in every direction, universal inter-dependence of nations. And as in material, so also in intellectual production. The intellectual creations of individual nations become common property. National onesidedness and narrow-mindedness become more and more impossible, and from the numerous national and local literatures there arises a world literature."

Yet the very conditions of capitalist production prevent that world literature from coming to life. Race and national hatred, class enmity, the forcible prevention of the national development of weak nations by strong, even sex bias and antagonism, the opposition between town and country, the ever-growing division between mental and physical labour expressed in capitalist mass production which has conquered the world market—all these things, born of the class contradictions of capitalist society, are fetters on the creation of a great world literature.

The consciousness of man has been enormously enlarged in this very period of the decline of art and literature. The aeroplane, the wireless, the cinema—all these things are working changes in our consciousness. But who can say that our creative artists have understood this, have absorbed these new human experiences, and are able to transmit them to us? On the contrary, we see a fear of science, an abject terror before the advance of technique. We even have a class of modern machine-breakers who would turn their backs on all this, call a truce to scientific progress. An Evelyn Waugh, having explored the barren wilds of upper middle-class life, tries to comfort himself by proving that the natural wilds of British Guiana are just as barren and comfortless (a fraud. The reason is not far to seek. Capitalist society, limited by its class basis, is unable to control the monster to which it has given birth. Machinery, instead of creating a new and wider life for man, flings him into the streets to starve, or rends him to pieces in the horror of war, while the owners of the machines, divorced from their use, decay in abject futility or obscene horror.

I think that the conclusions which I am going to draw will already be fairly clear. The struggle which is now going on all over the world between the two systems of Capitalism and Socialism is one which has a profound significance for literature, for human culture generally. With the victory of Socialism is bound up the whole future of art. First of all in this connection, it must be pointed out that, just as Marx was able to work out his philosophy only by making use of and re-fashioning the whole of human culture before him, so the working class, in its effort to build a new society, has to draw the best from all preceding societies and to use it as weapons in the fight for this new world. You have heard, perhaps, the saying of Stalin, that in the epoch of the reconstruction of society, technique decides everything, as opposed to

the capitalist fear of advance in technique, except in so far as it may be useful for destructive purposes. The best must be taken from the past if the working class is to create a technique capable of solving its great tasks of socialist construction, and the same applies to art and literature.

In this respect, you may be interested if I read you extracts from the letters of various citizens of the Soviet Republic on the question of what they like to read, a subject to which our own evening papers occasionally condescend in the form of catalogues of "best-sellers."

A fifty-year-old steel smelter, Myagkov by name, writes: "I like Shakespeare and Balzac most of all. I like these geniuses because they compel you to feel experiences strongly, and, most important of all, to reflect deeply. The genius of Shakespeare is particularly great. He knows how to present tremendous people, to show their steel strength of will, their deep power of reflection. It is my dream that an artist of equal genius and talent should express our own great days, their steel heroes and fighters."

A represertative of a younger generation, Grisha Vash chenko, a fifteen-year-old pupil in a factory technical school, writes: "Among the classics I prefer Shakespeare, Goethe, Lermontov, Pushkin. What I like most in those writers is their expression of human characters, passions and desires, the inner struggle of man."

A sixty-year-old weaver, Anna Porokhova, writes: "I have just read Dostoievsky's *Insulted and Injured*, and cannot hold back my tears. Maybe it's because I'm growing old. But just look how it used to be possible to trample down a human personality, how it was possible to abuse his finest instincts and aspirations!"

In fascist Germany, the country where the decay of capitalism has gone deepest, the classics of all time and all humanity are publicly burned on bonfires. In the country where the working class in power is building a new classless society, members of that ruling class can write of those classics as you have just heard. Surely no further proof is needed that the future of art and culture lies with that class and its struggle for a socialist world. But of those letters which I have quoted, the most significant, I think, is the last—the one written by the old weaver, of "how it *was* possible to trample down a human personality," Unconsciously she has expressed the greatest conquest of the new society in which she lives and works—that it has restored his dignity to man—and on no other basis can there be a great renaissance of art, on no other basis shall we see new Shakespeares and Leonardos.

One word in conclusion, on the character of the writer himself. The first artists in primitive society were directly connected with the process of labour, and their work directly reflected that process. With the division of society into classes, there came also a division of labour, and the artist became separated from that process, which his art reflected less and less. It was not, however, till capitalism developed modern machine production that the process became complete, and we had our modern intellectual, as far from the process of social production as it is possible to be, the extremest example of the division and contradiction between mental and physical labour. His mental attitude also becomes one of abstraction from life. He is no longer a Sophocles, a Bacon, a Leonardo, skilled in life as well as art. It is perhaps best expressed by the brothers Goncourt in their diary, when they write of themselves as enforced spectators of life, observing it with sadness and a melancholy cynicism. Socialism sweeps aside this type of artist into the lumber of the past. The writer in a socialist society is one who

takes a direct part in what he describes. The new socialist writer, expressing the new attitude to labour, and how on its basis the slave and the mechanical man dies, yielding place to a new attitude to the world, to society, to one's comrades, to sex, to children, to art, is himself a fighter for that new world. I need only mention here that Sholokhov, author of perhaps the greatest of the new Soviet novels, *Broken Earth,* is himself a leader in the struggle for collectivization, for a new agriculture, in the Don steppes of which he is the great poet and interpreter.

The great writers of humanity have always been concerned with the real life of man, his struggles, friendships, loves, dreams, and humiliations. They have ever been engaged in a great battle with reality for the development and growth of the human personality. That is why it is impossible to-day for the sincere writer, who cares for the traditions of his art, to remain apart from the struggle now taking place to decide the future of humanity. The writer who not only explains the world through the power of his own experiences expressed in art, but also through that very same power joins in the struggle to change it, is not betraying his craft: he is being true to its greatest traditions.

(*Concluded*)

THE PEASANT PROBLEM

By

P. Sundarayya

Since the peasantry is not homogeneous, we can have the right attitude, only if we can really estimate the class cleavage among them. To do this we do not have much statistical material. But from the Government settlement reports of land revenue it is calculated that in Madras presidency the following class cleavage exists:—

Year	Poor Peasantry 1	Poor Peasantry 2	Middle Peasantry 1	Middle Peasantry 2	Rich Peasantry 1	Rich Peasantry 2
1901	80	38·5	14.7	27·6	3·3	33·9
1931	86·6	43·2	10	24	3·4	32·8

(1) The percentage of peasantry to the total peasantry.

(2) The percentage of land to the total land.

The method by which these figures are got is this:—The Land Revenue settlement reports give the following table.

Paying of Kist.	No. of single Pattadars.	Total Dry.	Average Wet	Kist paid	No. of joint pattas	No. of Share holders	Dry.	Wet.	Found.
I Re, & less than Re.									
II Between 1—10Rs.									
III ,, 10—30 ,,									
IV ,, 30—50 ,,									
V ,, 50—100,,									
VI ,, 100—250,,									
VII ,, 250—500,,									
VIII ,, 500—1000,,									
IX ,, Over 1030,,									

For every one of the nine groups in the above table calculate the dry acreage for one single pattadar and also dry average for every joint patta shareholder, taking a wet acre as yielding $2\frac{1}{2}$ times of that of dry acre. Regroup these nine into four groups; those who own less than 3 acres as poor peasants, between 3-20 dry acres as middle, between 20-40 upper middle and above 40 as rich. (In the above figures the upper middle and rich are clubbed together.) The underlying idea of these averages for different groups is this. Those who own less than 3 acres has to hire themselves for wages; those owning between 3-20 can without employing any wage-labour and without living themselves out for wages can pull on; those owning between 20-40 hire wage-labourers on a yearly basis but still continue to work in their fields; but those owning above 40 manage their fields, the agricultural operations being carried completely by wage-labour or lease out their land and become absentee landlords. The last category does not include the big Zamindars who pay peshkas.*

From the above, we see that many corrections should be made before we can get any reasonable percentage of various classes in peasantry. The following are a few.

(1) These figures do not include, non-owning tenants or agricultural labourers who do not own any land at all. Hence the figure tends to lower percentage of the poor and middle peasantry.

(2) It is quite usual that a person holds a number of pattas. In these, figures we calculated him as number of persons. This increases the percentage of poor and middle peasantry. But this does not counteract the enormous decrease in their percentage due to (1).

(3) We should also take into consideration (when drafting a programme) that a tenant who by the average he cultivates, and may belong to a higher group, belongs in fact to a lower group by getting only as much income as this lower group gets.

(4) As against this, those belonging to lower groups by their economic position, may side with higher groups temporarily because of one's (1) caste (2) and one's vain social status due to one's own or one's family, former affluent conditions or due to one's present position as apparent owner or cultivator of a large number of acres.

We should see how far caste coincides with class and how far it will be hindering the organisation of the peasantry according to their class division.

If we can get the answers for the following questionnaire for a few typical villages and at the same time get the information for the same villages to fill in the tabular form above, we can find out the percentage of error in the above classification and thus can work out a sufficiently reliable percentage.

Questionnaire.

In a Village.

1. Number of peasant households which do not even manage their lands, but lease or cultivate them by appointing a manager.

2. Number of peasant households which manage their fields, but cultivate them entirely by wage labour.

3. Number of peasant household in the fields along with the farm servants (agricultural labourers employed on annual basis)

4. Number of those households which cultivate their lands without employing annual farm servants or not much of wage-labour.

5. Number of peasant households

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* See the article "The peasantry and their economic conditions" published in New Age Vol. II No. 5 Pp. 176-182. To bring the terminology in line with that asked in other countries, it has been corrected and used here as follows: Poor peasantry for "Landowing of Agricultural labourers," Middle peasantry for "Poor peasantry," upper middle peassntry for middle peasantry the upper middle peasantry can be admitted into the peasant organisations formed on the basis of the middle peasant demands.

which hire themselves out for wages finding the income on their land they own or got on lease, insufficient.

6. Number of households which entirely depend upon wages and do not possess any land.

7. (a) What is the average which each household cultivates or owns ?

(b) How much of it is owned and how much of it is got on lease ?

(c) How much of it is dry, wet and garden land ?

8. (a) What is the number of men, women and children?

(b) What is the number of adult men adult women and Children (below 14 years) in each house-hold ?

(c) The caste each households belongs to.

9. (a) The number of pattas each household land is divided into

(b) the kist for each patta ?

(c) The number of shareholders if the patta is joint

(d) What is the gross and net income for every household on dry, wet and garden land and on daily products (net income is equal to gross income minus the agricultural costs of production and marketting the products.

10. (a) The number of households which take up subsidiary occupations, agricultural being the main.

(b) the number of household which take agricultural as the subsidiary occupation, the other occupations being the main ones

(c) The number of households which have agriculture as the only occupation.

11. (a) The number of household in a village which have other occupations without resorting to agriculture at all.

(b) The number of men, women and children and working adults of both sex and working children in each household.

12. Fill the table in the article.

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LENIN ON THE "PEOPLE'S FRONT"

The following is an article published in the Workers' Age, America with an introduction by a member belonging to the leftist opposition to show that the present policy of the socialists is anti-Leninist.

Against sections XI and XII I have an extremely important objection in principle: they put the relation of the proletariat to the petty producers in an entirely onesided and false form. (For "the toiling and exploited masses" consist precisely of proletariat and petty bourgeoisie). These sections contradict directly the basic principles of both the Communist Manifesto and the statutes of the International and of most modern social democratic programs, and they open the door to populist, revisionist and all possible kinds of petty bourgeois misunderstandings.

"The discontent of the toiling and exploited masses is growing"—that is correct, but it is completely wrong to regard the discontent of the proletariat and the discontent of the small producers as identical and to lump them together. The discontent of the small producers very often arouses their efforts to defend their existence as small property owners (and must inevitably awaken in them or an important part of them such efforts). In other words they are aroused to defend the foundations of the present system and so to speak to bring it back to its earlier conditions.

"Its struggle, and above all the struggle of its leading representative, the proletariat, grows sharper. . . . ." A sharpening of the struggle naturally takes place also in the case of the small producer. But its "struggle" is very often directed against the proletariat for the very situation of the small producers is in itself sufficient to bring their interests in many respects into a sharp opposition to the interests of the proletariat. In general, the proletariat is not at all the "leading representative" of the petty bourgeoisie. If it is so at times, it is only when the small producer recognizes the inevitability of his disappearance, when he "forsakes his own standpoint, in order to adopt that of the proletariat." The leading representative of the small producer, who has not yet forsaken "his own standpoint," is very frequently that of the anti-semites and the landowners of the nationalists and populists, of the social reformists and revisionsts or "critics of Marxism." And right now, when the "sharpening of the struggle" of the small producers is accompanied by the "sharpening of the struggle" of the "socialist Gironde (i.e. right wing—B. D. W.) against the Mountain (i.e. revolutionary socialists—B. D. W.)—it is most untimely to throw any and every "sharpening" into the same pot.

"The International Social Democracy stands at the head of the movement for the freedom of the toiling and exploited masses." . . . By no means. It stands only at the head of the working class, of the labor movement, and if other elements adhere to this class, it is elements and not classes that so adhere. And they attach themselves completely only when they "forsake their own standpoint."

"They organize their fighting forces." . . . That is not correct either. The Social Democracy nowhere organizes the "fighting forces" of the small producers. It organizes only the fighting forces of the working class. The conception chosen for the draft program becomes even less fortunate when we keep in mind not Russia but limit the picture to "developed" bourgeois society.

Summa summarum. The draft speaks in a positive form of the revolutionary character of the petty bourgeoisie (if it "supports" the proletariat, doesn't that mean that it is revolutionary,) but says not a word of its conservative (and even reactionary) character. That is entirely onesided and wrong.

In a positive form we can (and must) indicate the conservative character of the petty bourgeoisie. And only in a conditional limited form can we indicate its revolutionary character. Only such a conception is in complete agreement with the entire spirit of Marxist teachings. The Communist Manifesto declares for example that precisely.

"Among all the classes that confront the bourgeoisie today, the proletariat alone is really revolutionary. . . . The lower middle class—small manufacturers, handicraftsmen, peasant proprietors—are not revolutionary, but conservative. Nay more, they are reactionary. . . . If they ever become revolutionary ("if"!), it is only because they are afraid of slipping down into the ranks of the proletariat; they are not defending their present interests, but their future interests, they are forsaking their own standpoint, in order to adopt that of the proletariat."

Let it not be said that, in the half century that has passed since the Communist Manifesto, matters have become essentially different. Precisely in this connection, nothing has become different. The theoreticians have always recognized this thesis (for example, in the year 1894, Engels refuted the French Agrarian Program precisely from this standpoint). He said just this: so long as the small peasant proprietor doesn't forsake his standpoint, he doesn't belong to us. His place is with the anti-semites. Let them disillusion him, and he will then come to us all the more surely, the more the bourgeois parties deceive him. And actual proofs of this theory are also given abundantly by history up to our time, up to nos chers amis (our dear friends—B.D.W.) the Messrs. "Critics" (i.e. revisionists—B. D. W.)

Further, in the draft the reference to the dictatorship of the proletariat, which was originally in the program, has been omitted. Even if that has occurred by accident, as an oversight, still it is an unquestionable fact, that the conception, "dictatorship," is irreconcilable with the unconditional recognition of outside support of the proletariat. If we really knew positively that the petty bourgeoisie will support the proletariat when the proletariat accomplishes his own revolution, the proletarian revolution, then it would be superfluous to speak of "Dictatorship," then such an overwhelming majority would be assured that we could get along very well without dictatorship (as the "Critics" also want to make us believe). The recognition of the necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat is linked up most intimately and inseparably with the sentence in the Communist Manifesto which declares that only the proletariat is a truly revolutionary class.

In passing, how "zealous" Engels was in this matter is shown by the following passage from his critique of the Erfurt draft program. "The ruin of wide sections of the population," quotes Engels from the draft and then remarks:

"In place of this declamatory phrase, which looks as if we were weeping about the ruin of bourgeois and petty bourgeois (!!), I would tell the simple facts: 'which by the ruin of the urban and rural middle classes, the petty bourgeoisie and small peasant proprietors, widens or deepens the chasm between property-owners and propertyless."*

I will be answered that in the counterdraft it is a question of the positively conservative character of the small producer ("all other classes of modern society are for the mainten-

ance of the foundations of the existing economic system"), whereas its revolutionary character is not even unconditionally expressed.

This objection is completely unjustified. The conditionally revolutionary character of the small producer is expressed in the counter-draft in the only possible way in which it can be expressed, i.e. by means of the conception of the accusation against capitalism. The limited revolutionary character of the small producer is expressed:

1. In the words concerning its being crowded out, ruined by capitalism. We, the proletariat, accuse capitalism of leading, thru the ruin of the peasant to the big enterprise. From this inevitably follows the conclusion that the peasant, if he comprehends the inevitability of this process, "forsakes his standpoint and accepts ours."

2. In the following words: " insecurity of existence and unemployment, the pressure of exploitation and degradation of every kind becomes the fate (not only of the proletariat, but also) of ever wider layers of the toiling population. Thru this conception is expressed the idea that the proletariat is the representative of the entire toiling population, and, of course, a representative in view of the fact that we demand (and compel) all of them to forsake their standpoint and adopt ours, and not the reverse; we do not abandon our standpoint, we do not merge our class struggle with that of all kinds of unreliable elements.

And further, the thought of representation by the proletariat is expressed:

3. In the words on the poverty and misery of the masses (the masses in general, and not only the workers).

The party of the revolutionary class can give expression only in this form to the limited revolutionary character of the other classes, in order to analyze for them their own conception of their needs and of the means for the solution of those needs, so that in its (the proletariat's) declaration of war against capitalism it may appear not only in its own name but also in the name of all the "suffering and impoverished" masses. From this follows automatically that whoever accepts this doctrine will be obliged to come to us. It would be simply ridiculous if it should occur to us especially to indicate that once more in the program and to declare that these or those unreliable elements, if they go over to our standpoint, will also be revolutionary! That would be the best means of disturbing the faith in us on the part of vacillating and weak allies who lack faith in us, even without that.

Note by Lenin: In the draft of the Erfurt Program the following passage was contained: "In this struggle for freedom the Social Democracy as the champion (or representative . . .) not only of the wage workers, but of all exploited and oppressed, fights for all demands, measures and arrangements which are fitted to improve the condition of the people in general and of the working class in particular." And Engels *energetically* advises that this entire passage should be *stricken out*, and does not let the opportunity go by without ridiculing " the people in general " (Who is that?). Following Engel's advice, they *threw out* this passage altogether. The paragraph in which it says, "The emancipation of the proletariat can only be the work of the working class because *all other* classes rest on the foundation of private property in the means of production and have as their economic aims the maintenance of the foundations of presentday society"—that paragraph *under the direct influence of Engels* was adopted in a *sharper form* than in the original draft."

** *Note by Lenin*: The more "good things" we offer the small producer (for example, the peasant) in the practical part of our program, the " severer " we must be with these

unreliable and internally contradictory elements in the theoretical part of the program, without even deviating by so much as a hair's breadth from our *own* standpoint. Here, please, accept this, our standpoint, and then you will find all kinds of "good things" with us; don't accept it, and—well then, don't bother us! Then we will say when there is a "dictatorship" over you: It is superfluous to waste words.

PATRIOTISM

By **Krishnaswamy**

Literally speaking 'Patriotism' is the zeal that one possesses for the freedom or rights of his country. This idea had its birth in that period of history in which class struggle was between the rising bourgeoisie and degrading Feudal Lords. When the former were successful, especially after the French Revolution, they raised the slogan of 'Mother country' throughout Europe. Not only because of their success but as the direct result of the reaction of Napolean's adventures which startled all those raising bourgeoisie of various countries, National Movement was kept in full swing by them (bourgeoisie) in all over Europe. In the same period the Industrial revolution was also playing its own part which tempted the inceptive capitalists to adopt such methods which would at once be helpful in the exploitation of the workers—the new class which was appearing in the scene—and for beguiling the masses by empty patriotic phrases. This is how history accounts for the rise of Nationalism and Patriotism.

Ordinarily Patriotism means 'Love for one's native country.' But to-day the nature of appeal to Patriotism has been throughly exposed by the development of that capitalistic mode of production which has created such contradictions in the interests of existing classes that it is unthinkable for them to speak in the name of 'Mother or Father land.' Really speaking, they, the workers, the exploited, possess nothing but their own labour power. Then, is it wise to think of a fight on the part of the workers for a thing, the country, which does not now belong to them? No, it is not a matter of folly but open treachery on the part of unscrupulous capitalists who are always ready to trade upon their knowledge of workers' and peasants' ignorance. Yet it is most unfortunate for them that the workers are growing class conscious by leaps and bounds. In fact they have already taken such conspicuous parts in their revolutions against the bourgeoisie that in no less than two countries—in Russia and in some part of China—they are in power. Despite of their failure in countries like Germany, Italy, France etc., they did show their consciousness which we wish to depict here.

In the Russian Revolution the most peculiar thing was that the workers, under the leadership of Bolshevik party, held their own way against the treacherous Socialists of not only Russia but of the whole continent. That is to say, they raged a civil war rather than to take part in the Imperialist one for the so-called defence of their Fatherland which would be of no use to them. Because had they merged in the Imperialist war ignoring the civil one, now, the Country, Russia may, in all probability be either in the hands of

native or foreign bourgeoisie. The position of the masses under foreign bourgeoisie and their position under the control of native capitalists would hardly have any difference.

Take, for instance, England. It is said an Independent country. From a proletariat upto a Banker and entrepreneur are said to be patriots. But the political power, the Government, is in the hands of conservatives—the native bourgeoisie. They use the labourers as an instrument to expolit India and thus enrich themselves by sharing a small amount with the poor. And it is as certain as anything that these capitalists will show their empty hands to the poor when either they lose India or their profit decreases.

This is patriotism that we see in practice. To put it in short, *'Patriotism' had been and is a weapon in the hands of bourgeoisie to plunder colonies and enrich themselves.*

In India also, to day, there is National Movement. Of course, the workers and peasants need it. But there is a paradox about it that the whole talk of Nationalism and Patriottism on the part of bourgeoisie and Land Lords is simply hypocritical. Since the Great War their interests have been throughly changed. No doubt, Mahatmaji and the Congress controlled by native bourgeoisie, awakened India and inspired us with some Independent feelings. But now, it is clear, from the procedure of Congress that it will bring no complete Independence that we need. Let us discuss this in a separate article.

Again, everything has its own dialectical interpretation. If Nationalism is thesis to-day and if it has failed to satisfy the demands of society in the present stage of civilization of the world, it must have its anti-thesis and it is Internationalism. The synthesis would be a classless society running through the surface of earth.

But this in no way means, that, we in this stage, must ignore our position and hurry to others' help. We are, of course, Patriots and endeavour to emancipate India. We are patriots in the sense that we want to free our land not only from foreigners but also from native capitalists as soon as possible. But we cannot, forever, find ourselves with only India. Our aim must be the emancipation of the whole world from the yoke of Capitalism. Because even after our Independence, our allied countries controlled by capitalists will he a menace to us and also it must be our bounden duty, after getting freedom and strengthening our position to free our brother workers, peasants and other exploited from the grip of the capitalists and establish a classless society in the whole world in which there will be no exploitation, no illiteracy and thus bring peace to the minds of the masses. This is our Nationalism and Internationalism.

In May the *New Age* will complete its second year of its glorious career. The Special Annual Number will be highly entertaining as it will contain very many inspiring and interesting articles from eminent Modern Thinkers.

CHARLES RUTHENBERG

The American Rebel and Socialist

By **A. S. K. Iyengar, M. A.**

Lenin once wrote: "The communists of America prove by their long prison terms to which the bourgeoisie sentence them for communist agitation and propaganda, what capitalist Democracy really means. They are tearing the masks from it and are exposing it as a reign of trust kings and speculators amid the subjection of the masses."

These words of Lenin could be applied far more easily to Ruthenberg than to any other single socialist in America. Thus he was the most arrested man in that land. He was one of those few men in that country who built the communist party. He was primarily a 'rebel', one who stood up against the tyranny and the oppression of the ruling class.

When he was sentenced in 1920, from five to ten years, he told the New York court, "I have in the past held certain ideals for a reorganisation of society on a new basis. I have upheld those ideals and gone to prison for them. When they were connected with the late War, I have stood by those principles in which I firmly believe and I still stand for those principles irrespective of the result of this particular trial. I expect in the future as in the past to uphold and fight for those principles until the time comes for those principles to triumph and a new society is built in place of the present social organisation...........I will accept the sentence in that same spirit of defiance, realising that I go to prison because of support of a great principle that will triumph in spite of all the courts, in spite of all the organizations of the capitalist class."

He mastered all theoretical works of his day, works which have become classics in Marxian literature. He stands before the entire American working class as the 'outstanding expression of communism in the United States."

He was perhaps the first man in all left wing movements to recognize quickly the need for organization. He was a consistent and bold fighter against Imperialist Wars. Ruthenberg's greatest contribution to the working class movement in America was his power to link the smallest, immediate, day to day struggle of the workers with the larger, and bigger issues, both political and International—the whole Proletarian Struggle!

The Cleveland Hero

Ruthenberg joined the Socialist Party in 1909, and soon became one of the Secretaries of the Cleveland city central Committee. The Cleveland Socialist Party was a strong one and Ruthenberg's quick imagination suggested the idea of forming the Cleveland section of the national movement. Soon Ruthenberg was lionised as a local political leader! Between 1909 and 1912 he was the Recording Secretary of the Cleveland Central Committee of the Socialist Party. "In 1910 he was socialist candidate for State Treasurer of Ohio; in 1911, candidate for Mayor of Cleveland; in 1912, for Governor of Ohio. In 1913 Ruthenberg became

the Secretary and city organizer of the Cleveland organization. He was also candidate for United States Senator of Ohio during the same year; in 1915 candidate for Mayor; in 1916, candidate for Congress; in 1917 again candidate for Mayor."

Ruthenberg always clarified his position with respect to Imperialist wars—it was one of stout opposition! In 1919 he discovered the need of a nation-wide left wing organization of the Socialist Party. Soon it emerged as the communist party of America and Charles E. Ruthenberg, assumed the difficult task of being the first Secretary. After his release from Sing Sing prison after the reversal of the decision of his conviction, he became the second national Secretary of the Workers' Party in 1922. The Party soon grew strong in membership and political influence. Ruthenberg was the driving force in every campaign of that party.

The party soon gained ground in trade unions, and Negro masses were won for the workers' Party. All through, even as early as 1912, in his first years even in the Socialist Party, 'When in an atmosphere of social democratic laziness and confusion,' Ruthenberg had a very remarkable and clear appreciation of the role of a revolutionary socialist party.

His Views on War

Just upon America's entry into the World War, the Socialist Party of America adopted the St. Lovius Anti-war Resolution. From the Leninist point of view, the Resolution suffers from serious shortcomings, still it was something like a thermometer. The opposition of the rank and file of the Socialist Party to the Imperialist war was clearly and most unequivocally expressed.

It is Ruthenberg who was responsible for formulating and later for adoption of all that was revolutionary in the St. Louis Resolution.

The Socialist Party was divided into many camps, Berger standing for pro-Germanising Hill-quit for social-pacifism, and Spargos, Russels, Wallings and others for Social-Chauvinism. It was Ruthenberg who raised the standard of Revolt and sounded the Proletarian bells against the Imperialist War. He could not be hoodwinked with "German Kultin" or by some illusions about democracy. He declared most emphatically! "This is not a war of freedom. It is not a war for the principles of mankind. It is a war to secure the investments and profits of the ruling class of this country.

"The only reason we are in this war now is because it is in the interests of the ruling class, the capitalist class of this country to have us in the war"...

"I am speaking to you as Karl Liebnecht spoke to the German nation, as he spoke in the Parliament of that country, when he denounced the war as a war of the ruling class and stated his unalterable opposition to that war. And I say to you that if you are inspired by this ideal...if you are inspired with that which will bring about a better world, then you must stand up and fight for that ideal. Yuu must fight side by side with those who are fighting this war...

"......We are working towards this end, that out of the chaos of this war there may come a new society, a new world, a new organization of the people, which will end the cause of war by ending the private ownership of the industry which brings war into existence......"

Ruthenberg's stand in America, was the same as that of Karl Liebknecht in Germany with respect to the Imperialist War! "Imperialism brings the great capitalist classes into conflict, with each other," said Ruthenberg in a speech delivered during the New York trial in 1920.

"This conflict in the beginning takes the form of a diplomatic controversy

and ends in war. War brings about the disintegration of the capitalist machinery of production, as has been the case in Europe. It also brings about inflation, the increase of prices, and the working class is driven to a more bitter and antagonistic struggle against the capitalist class. In this country we saw that illustrated in the various strikes......This process going on ultimately brings about a condition in which the workers are compelled to strike more frequently, more widely. In the process the Government acts as the agent of the capitalist class for the suppression of the workers.... This directs the attention of the workers against the capitalist state, as the agency of the capitalist class, and their struggles begin to develop against the government....In this process there comes a point where the capitalist government is no longer able to function and in such a crisis the working class will establish its workers' Councils which become the government and funciton as the government in order that production may be established on a new basis, carried on for the benefit of the people. For a period there may be, as there were in Russia, two governments, one becoming the government, and the other disintegrating and going out of existence. In such a situation, too, the larger part of the army, as was the case in Russia, will support the workers in their efforts to establish their government. The working class will establish a government in the form that will be suitable for the exercise of working-class power, a soviet government."

Ruthenberg was thru and thru a Bolshevik, 'always keeping in the forefront the main objective of the communists in the class-struggle—to revolutionize the minds and struggle of the masses and to build a powerful Party to lead the workers to final victory'. In the day to day struggle of the workers, he showed the necessity of the working class move-

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ment in the United States, of overthrowing American Capitalism and establishing the Proletarian dictatorship. Thru'out his life Ruthenberg was a thorough Leninist.

Ruthenberg a Leninist

Ruthenberg was a Leninist not merely with respect to his opposition to the Imperialist War, but also with respect to his task in the daily struggles of the working-class.

He sufferred from no parliamentary illusions, but as a true Leninist believed in rising the legislatures as a platform for revolutionary propaganda.

Writing in 1920 of the Socialist Party which believed in capturing power by the ballot box, he wrote, "The Socialist Party emphasises the participation in elections and the election of certain officials. It had become more or less a vote-getting machine to elect certain persons to public office rather than an organization which sought to bring about a fundamental change of the Social System.

The working class should rely upon the point at which its power could be organized and used directly thru organisation and thru the use of that power as would develop under the change in the Social System and the social development." With respect to the day to day struggles of the workers and the role of his own Party, Ruthenberg says;" The policy of the party is to associate itself with the workers in the everyday struggles. The communists fight with wage workers and farmeres in support of the demands which they make on the capitalists because it is in these struggles that the workers learn the character of the capitalist system, and there is developed a will to power of the workers, the determination to triumph over the enemy who exploits and oppresses them. "The everyday struggles of the workers create the most favourable condition for establishing the influence and leadership of the party. The workers learn by experience the character of the capitalist system. They learn by their experience in the struggle that the Government under the capitalist system is merely an agency of the capitalists for maintaining the system of exploitation. They learn this, not through theoretical presentation and proof of the facts, but thru the hard knocks of their experience with the capitalists and with the government which supports the capitalist system. While fighting with the workers to realize their immediate demands against the capitalists, it is the part of the communists to point out to them at every stage of the development of struggle that these immediate demands cannot solve their problems. Thus in the process of the struggle itself, the workers become conscious of their class interests and of their class enemy. It is in the process of struggle that the revolutionary will of the workers develops, and through these struggles they are led step by step to the final struggle."

Throughout his life, Ruthenberg was consistently a Bolshevik. He never faltered even for a second in representing the real objective of the communists, in the class-struggle,—to revolutionise the minds and struggles of the workers and to build a powerful communist party, to lead the workers to final victory and to the establishment of a workers' soviet socialist state! Ruthenberg always stressed the need of overthrowing American capitalism, to establish a Proletarian Dictatorship. He had a genius of linking the smallest day to day struggle of the workers with the biggest and most fundamental objective of the whole Proletariat!

The Founder of the Party

Ruthenberg was the founder of the communist party of America. His opposition to the Right Wing of the

socialist party, his courage and determination which characterised his leadership of the militant proleteriat, his opposition to the Imperialist war, his enthusiasm and zeal which spurred him on to break away from the senile Socialist Party and build a new nist party, all bear eloquent testimony to the fact that Ruthenberg was the "Founder of the communist party of America."

The communist party of America was born in Chicago in September 1919. For three years the words "Soviets" and "Dictatorship of the Proletariat" were taboo, but in the second convention of the Workers' Party of America held in New York in December 1922 it again came back to life. The communist party of America founded in 1919 was a result of enthusiasm and inspiration of the Russian Revolution.

In 1922, the enthusiasm was there, but the movement was not a mere spontaneous outburst. During the three years, a great deal more was learnt and the facts of the 'Soviets' and the dictatorship of the proletariat" alone being the instruments through which the Proletarian Revolution will achieve its end were becoming more and more popular. It was Ruthenberg's task to create a belief in the 'Soviet' not by merely holding up the Russian example but by actually proving to them the necessity and the inevitability of the 'Soviet's replacing the American Bourgeois Government.

When the Communist party was first organised in the U.S.A., it was not an underground organization. Certain notorious raids, chief of them being the Palmer raids drove the American communists underground. Writing of their period in "The Liberator" (March 1923), Ruthenberg says; "The communists have no particular love for underground life or for working in secret. They have nothing to hide. They decide nothing more than to proclaim their principles openly and publicly. They had to exist underground in order to exist all."

Palmer drove the communists underground and Daugherty and Burns tried their best to destroy that underground communist movement thru their raids of 1922. The communist answer to these raids was to challenge the persecution of communists before the labour movement of America. This gained for the communist party more support in the labour movement, and added to the support already obtained.

A NEW OUTLOOK ON INDIAN HISTORY

Dharmananda Kausambie's Book

By **S. S. Khanokar.**

Recently an attempt has been made in the world of Marathi literature by Prof. Dharmanand Kausambi, to interpret the whole history of India in the light of Modern thought. In Maharashstra Mr. Kausambi is regarded as a great authority on ancient literature of Pali as well as Sanskrit.

In the book under consideration (Indian civilisation and Ahimsa) the author has pointed out the futility of the greatness and the undue importance attached to the ancient civilisation of India.

It is a well-known fact that to a large extent, most of the ancient civilisations

reared their superstructures of culture and refinement on the foundations of the system of slavery the forms of which may be varied from place to place. The cultural development of the ancient Greece was possible because of the fact that the slave-labour was at the disposal of the Freemen. Prof. Kausambi, with his great scholastic ability, has been able to prove that India's civilisation is not in any way an exception to the above fact and to whatever extent, the civilisation did exist in olden days it was chiefly because Brahmins the upper class, could enjoy sufficient leisure and all sorts of other comforts at the cost of the shudras, Vaishyas and others. The credit which has often been given to the Brahmins for their selflessness and sacrifice has been historically challenged by the author who has traced the history, right from the empire of Indre, and the fact has been proved from the mythological evidences that Brahmins throughout the history have submitted to the King and praised them even for their wrong actions. All this was done with a definite view to strengthen their own position in the society which otherwise was threatened by the ruling kings. The more cruel is the king the more he is praised. Up till now the part played by the intelligent class is of submission to the powerful and an attempt to secure its own supremacy over the classes lower than itself.

After having discussed the various aspects of the ancient civilization, the author has briefly dealt with the socio-political movements in India during the last century.

Our contact with the west

In early period of the 19th century there was a frank sense of surrender and Indians of all classes suffered from an inferiority feeling compared to English culture. This to some extent, led to the spread of Christian influence among the educated people.

To combat this tendency, two movements namely Bramhasamaj and Arya Samaj came into existence. The first tried to bring about a synthesis between the pro-western and anti-western tendencies. The other movement of defending ancient culture, which grew from national self-respect, was sometimes carried to excess as we shall presently see.

Students who had lately been reading the scientific literature of the west tried to read a scientific meaning into every element of Hindu ceremonial practice. Ancient literature was haunted for proofs of the existence of five arms baloons and the like.

By this time people came to realize that it is because of patriotic instinct of the English that they are flourishing so much in the world and Indians realized that in order to be free people should be patriotic.

The Arya Samaj did some work in this direction and the whole northern India came under the hold of Arya Samaj but in the Madras presidency and Maharashtra where the sanskrit learning was very much prevalent the Arya Samajists could not do much work.

Lokmanya Tilak Attacked

Tilak, with a view to spread nationalism utilised Shivaji and Ganpati festivals in Southern India and he was quiet successful for the time being. But in the opinion of the author, such actions only retarded the progress of Indian politics, though for the time being they appeared to be effective.

This effectiveness, in the opinion of the author, was partly due to the fact that government attached more importance to the festivals like Ganpati than what was required and partly because the God Ganpati was already more popular amongst the Maratha Brahmines as it was a god worshipped by Peshwas, the rulers.

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The author opines that instead of appealing directly to the economic grievances of the masses those who have taken such round about way for instigating the narrow ideals of nationalism, have done a great injustice to India's cause.

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

How to Coordinate Youth Activities

Mass unemployment, an ever-growing number of youths without work, want of opportunity to learn a trade, fierce exploitation of those in employment, impoverishment of the rural youth, denial of political right to the youth and their right to a cultured life; few possibilities of securing general or special Education; loss of prospects; distinction of the normal healthy life of youths, spreading vagrancy, prostitution and begging, such are the condition of youths today.

The forces of youths are not galvanized and as such their fight does not lead to decisive success. Experience shows that youth's cannot successfully defend their interests without uniting their forces to fight the common enemy, the present political and social system.

The cause of the youth imperatively demands the unification of all genuine anti-imperialist youth organisations the Congress, Radicals, Socialists, workers, peasants, and even pacifist and religious sections of the youth, which would, through their daily attention towards economic, political and cultural problems, educate their members in the spirit of complete independence, internationalism and Socialism.

The creation of such genuine youth organisations in India requires a radical change, and reorganisation of the existing youth Leagues and Complete abandonment of any form of sectarian copying of parties. No abstract politics should determine the substance and the life of the youth organisations. The work of these organisations should be adapted entirely to the desires and requirements of the youths themselves so that while they learn, to organise and fight for their interests, they will get all the experience they require.

All youth organisations should be built on the basis of wide democracy. The members of the organisations should have full power to decide in a democratic way the task, the nature of work, and the character of their organisations.

The organisational forms of the Youth Leagues must always suit the local conditions and specific tasks of the locality without in any way compromising the fundamentals of the Central organisation. The essential form of work should be the organisation of clubs and circles in order to meet the cultural, economic, and political interest of Youths.

D. V. NATHAN

182732

THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF JOHN GALSWORTHY

By **Marjory Royce**

I shall be so glad that, heard John Galsworthy speak at a dinner of the Royal Literary Fund, some years back, in 1929.

The function is held annually in support of poor authors and are grants made, privately, discreetly, and wisely by a committee. Those who have been once well known—but who have fallen by the wayside, and those who have never been well-known, but who, nevertheless, have toiled hard and regularly in the more modest by-paths of journalism—and possibly have come on hard times, are judiciously and kindly helped.

It has been my happy fate to attend many such dinners—every one with the same object. But never have I heard a speaker plead the cause of the poor author as Galsworthy did. He pleaded eloquently, and was not, like many other famous men, carried away by the attraction of speaking of something quite different! Every one was moved; and when a manuscript of his play "Loyalties" was auctioned, it produced £3,300: because he pleaded so well.

I remember shaking hands with him, for he received us; and nothing the deathly pallor on that fine distinguished face. Mrs. Galsworthy, too, looked very white that evening, and her graceful, pale lemon-coloured evening gown added to her delicate appearance. There is no doubt that Galsworthy possessed what Lady Oxford has stressed as a rare quality in writing of Asquith—disinterestedness. Even as Asquith was capable of extreme unselfishness, so also was the author of "The Forsyte Saga." His speech at that literary dinner proved it, as he spoke. He was evidently living entirely in sympathy with the distressed writer who had not enough money to meet his obligations; he was understanding his proud sensitiveness, his agony of mind.

This must have been a particularly hard biography to get together. Mr. H. V. Marrot has had a horribly difficult bit of work to do. Galsworthy wrote a lot of letters, people kept them, they have delivered them up to the chronicler, and the truth is that many of them are hardly worth printing as they are quite undistinguished and simple, or at best are only lit up by an occasional brilliant phrase. Mr. Marrot has, we think out of sheer conscientiousness made his book too long; it is a business to get through the correspondence. Incidentally the book shows up what a fortunate man Galsworthy was in having two highly accomplished critics, Edward Garnett and Joseph Conrad, for close friends. Eney wrote to him at great length about his books. Conrad, that great writer, shows up here in a curiously unselfish light, (some accounts of him have made us wonder whether he was not a very self-absorbed person). But

the letters printed in this "Life" from him to Galsworthy are charming; all about Galsworthy, nothing about Conrad. And the advice is excellent. Of Miltoun, in "The Patrician," he wrote; "........ he stands out from them in a very striking manner, a very consistently sombre figure. You don't give him a single little gleam...... He is a strange bird to come out of that nest. He's a bigger creation than the other, but I should not say a greater... "

Then Garnett will offer things like this—in honest friendly criticism:

"I consider Bosinney's Suicide an artistic blot of a very grave order, psychologically false, and seriously shaking the illusion of the whole story." He then proceeds to write sheets about the matter. Yes, Galsworthy the affectionate and unselfish friend, was lucky in his friendships.

Mr. Marrot has told the tale of the famous novelist's life as much as possible in Galsworthy's own words, through letters and extracts from speeches much too lengthy is admirably put together, and shows a tender love and reverence for its subject.

"Of Galsworthy," says the preface, "more than of most men, it is true to say that the story of his life lies in his work. His was no sensational career; it was rather a progress as well ordered as his own nature. His were the adventures, not of action nor of controversy, but of the spirit and the heart. And the flame which rose from that ardent heart burned, steady and unseen in an inner shrine to which none save one, had access." He was the son of a successful solicitor and man of business a "Man Of Property." Destined for the Bar, he went to Harrow and Oxford. It is interesting to observe that he had intense love and veneration for his father—less link with his mother. The father appears as Old Jolyon in "The Forsyte Saga," and here in this charmingly bound lilac-coloured biography, we may gaze on pictures of "Aunt Ann," "Uncle Roger" and Uncle Nicholas" also relations.

Galsworthy turned to literatue just before he was twenty-eight.

"Until I was twenty-seven years and eight months old it never occurred to me to write anything," he put on record. "And then it didn't occur to me; it occurred to one who was not then my wife. "Why don't you write?" she said, you are just the person......" I began. In two years I wrote nine tales. They had every fault."

Success came with "The Man of Property," after he had been writing nearly eleven years without making a penny. It took him nearly three years to write, but it *was* written. "My name was made; my literary independence assured, and my income steadily swollen."

Galsworthy married a woman he had to wait for; it was a sad, difficult period in his life. Much of his feelings of horror about an unhappy marriage arise from his own observation of life; and after reading this biography one can follow much more understandingly the misery of his Forsyte heroine Irene. His own alliance was one of complete happiness. The nine years' wait was infinitely worth while. Mrs. Galsworthy was the perfect companion. They had no children, but latterly were much with Galsworthy's nephew, almost regarded as a son. Life was spent in travel with homes in Devonshire, and at Hampstead and elsewhere. And so his life went by, tranquilly, strenuously, till death came to this eminent man in 1933.

Galsworthy's nature was full of compassion. He worked indefatigably for different good causes. One of his principal achievements was to get the powers in charge to revise the arrangements for solitary confinements in prison. His great play "Justice" pro-

duced this most necessary reform. It "made a great sensation, especially in Parliamentary and official circles. Winston Churchill, the new Home Secretary and Ruggles-Brise, head of the Prison Commission, both witnessed it, the first with sympathy, the second with a sinking sensation."

The practical results amounted to more than the author dared to hope the period of solitary confinement being greatly reduced, and other prison reforms brought about.

Other things that Galsworthy interested himself in and fought for were Divorce Law reform, Docking of Horses Plumage Bill, Caging of wild Birds, Ponies in Mines, Slaughterhouse Reform, Worn—out Horse—Traffic, and others Pigeon shooting He accomplished much, very much, and gave with amazing generosity; no love of money dwelt in his eager tender heart.

Among other attractive glimpses given here of Galsworthy in his country homes is one of Bury, the house he occupied near Pulborough. He rode every day.

" You might see him go forth any morning at a quarter to eight, clad in russet jacket and snuff breeches if he were riding the chestnut, or in green jacket and green breeches if it was the silver roan's turn, and feel that the bustle of the century was at rest....."

The welcome to the guests there was full of its own magic.....

" The note was set by a smiling maid and a couple of barking tail-wagging dogs, by the appearance of the rooms themselves, very light, very spacious serenely well-ordered, and reflecting the personality of their inmates.

" Ada Galsworthy would turn up, bright and benignant, and at lunch, J. G. with that rarely smile of his."

It must have been a wonderful moment for Galsworthy when he heard that the British Museum was proud to house the manuscript of " The Forsyte Saga." He must have sensed that he had written a classic. Foreigners all over the world turn to the pages of the Saga for information about the upper middleclass in England. We have it on our bookshelves and turn to it again and again, as have the most able men living. Galsworthy was also gloriously fortunate in his wife, in his wide acquaintance with clever people; he knew evrybody he wished to know. He adored the country and tasted deep of its simple and healing joys. Yet he had no children to succeed him, and no hope of a future life. But he had much sound counsel to give, and to leave, in a world hungry for help. . . .

So " live that you do everything with all your heart, and have no time or inclination left for megrims or nerves. No excess is inherent in this theory of life, for excess either dulls the appetite or gives you fever."

" You have humour ; it's a saving grace when its eyes turn inward as well as outward."

" I don't much admire the British character, but I am sure that it is extremely formidable."

"I am miserably read in Philosophy" he wrote to Hardy (and throughout the book the Hardy letters and his make marvellously interesting reading). "But always feel that the process of Art supplies the best key to our conjecturing of what the great riddle comes to. Why does an artist want to make a work of Art ?—there is no sensible reason ; he can't tell you, he can't explain."

The Life and letters of John Galsworthy by H. V. Marrot (He inemann 21 sh.)

THE GREAT OFFEN SIVE AGAINST BIRTH CONTROL

Unlike the ordinary journalists, Mahadev Desai plays the role of a trumpet-blower to his idol,—a more than normal Boswell intent upon calculated deification of Sjt. M. K. Gandhi. Everything else however pertinent to the propagandist purpose associated with "the Harijan" is subordinated to the primary object of burning incense before his own particular altar so as to heighten its enslaving influence. It is part of his duty to regulate visits to the shrine in a way conducive to the enhancement to the international reputation of Mr. Gandhi. He knows for certain that the devotional fervour of the Indian lends the necessary local enchantment or can be bullied into that frame of mind. "You either accept the Gospel of Gandhi or take the consequences" is the judgment pronounced upon the conscientious objector who is willing to admire up to a point and never abide by the wishes of one who is not content to lead. politically but force his whims and fancies upon his followers. That since the revealed leadership began a conflicting mass of religious ideas antagonistic to political rationale have been imposed upon the people is a matter of journalistic history. Caste and everything else that is devitalising has been sicklied over *adnauseam* with the pale caste of sentimentality and served for general consumption causing social illhealth all around. Economic puerilities have been introduced by means of propagandist insistence and not having obtained encouraging results, the begging bowl has been taken round on behalf of the Daridranarayan. Like unto the dissolute man wishing to put an end to prostitution, so has the caste-ridden saint sought to uproot untouchability and other evils inherent in the social system. To Mahadev Desai, however, Mr. Gandhi is the only Ecce Homo on earth, all others and their ideas being taboo and deserving of disapprobation. He is a jealous disciple who takes care to see that his mastirs views are widely popularised. The Indian, however prominent he may be, is negligible and can wait, for he dare not speak his mind and endanger the international fame of India. That reminds me of incidents which are illustrative of Mahadev Desai's zeal to safeguard the sanctity of the Mahatma. An eminent Indian or two are known to have given expression to the pain caused by Mahadev Desai in allotting to them a bare quarter of an hour for important interviews preferring to let admiring Europeans take up all the time of the busy leader in asking him such fond questions as "How proud you must be to be a Mahatma of the World!" If occasionally a not wholly reverent European Visitor is encountered, then every attempt is made to cow him or her down into humble submission by means of pious scandal or by journalistic brow-beating.

Mrs. Margaret Sanger is an instance in point and this distinguished lady has the misfortune to hold opinions diametrically at variance with Mr. Gandhi. Mahadev Desai is ready at hand to come to the rescue of his Master whose rather untenable position in regard to the question of Birth control is governed by a deep-struck sex-shocked phsychology and purist notions born of the same. Women and weakling children

may die like vermin as a result of enforced prolific motherhood or by having resort to unscientific abortion but Gandhi will have it that no impious method shall be adopted to save them. Self-control is the only remedy he suggests against the satisfaction of an instinct which is as compelling as the desire to satisfy one's thirst which again is something different from the unnatural craving for liquor. Liquor can he prohibited but not water; and sex instinct being subject to stimulating causes vital to the human body is dependent upon virility in the absence of which you can no more indulge in abuse as you can overeat yourself to the point of throwing out the excess of food. Mahadev Desai however has it against all sense of proportion that Mr. Gandhi is the all-knowing man before whom all wisdom and experience, however superior, must bend. Let him who dare discover reasonable flaws in his Sun prepare himself for unsparing journalistic chastisement at his hands. He is no respector of persons other than his own hero and he is not one to refrain from hitting ungenerous blows at the unconvinced and the unconverted. To him it is a matter unworthy of admiration that Margaret Sanger is a person of no small consequence but one who has suffered as gloriously for the sake of her principles as Gandhiji. That and her genuine American credentials are beside the point, he is interested in rudely thrusting home for the simple reason that Mrs. Sanger has had the courage to differ from the infallible Gandhi. He must needs say in ungallant journalistic style that if Gandhi's advice of lust during safe-periods is followed—which is as good as compromising with immoral prompter-Mrs. Sanger and others like her will be done out of their trade. Yes and would t be fair to suggest in like manner to the ungenerous critic who is not interested in reason but in seeing that Gandhi's word is worshipfully accepted. For an equally illogical reason, he casts the insinuating reflection that Mrs. Sanger cannot be a true humanitarian in that he misunderstands her to say that there hangs upon the world the threat of a new Yellow Peril. What in truth she suggests is that Birth Control is creative of an anti-war atmosphere as not so the deliberate or unconscious programme of multiplication of cannon-fodder as pursued in Japan, Germany, Italy, India and China. Mrs. Sanger is far less guilty of even remotely raising the bogey of Yellow Peril than Mr. Desai of seeing alarmist visions of reckless abuse of the sex-instinct consequent on the practice of Birth Control. Nobody disputes Mr. Gandhi's claim to exhaustive knowledge of Indian Women nor is it considered necessary to say it of him that he is opposed to the equality of sexes. But that man is a kill-joy who looks upon all sex life as lust and who would have none make love lest he should stoop to the level of animals. Carnal is an ugly word to use in relation to the sex life of mankind which is full of superphysical pleasure that makes for the fusion of individualities and happy contacts. It is never possible to have more of it than one feels the urge for it. Great as are the chances of its being overdone to dissipating lengths, still greater is the need to protect the women from its dangerous after effects of unwanted child-birth. It is man's duty as the irresponsible partner in the sex act to save the woman a passive agent from the economic and social degradation arising from it. To teach the woman against her instinctive prompting to say "no" to the lascivious man is easy but she will say it not to the man she loves unless it be for his own good. Prophets and saints have come and preached the Gospel of self-control and separate beds but humanity has gone on obeying the dictates of an irresistible and a not-altogether-depraved instinct thus overpeopling the

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world and giving rise to famines, and plagues, pestilences. Far better is Birth Control and possibly impossible state of licentiousness that it will lead to if at all than the miseries of unrestricted overpopulation. How and in what form it shall be scientifically applied, it is for the physicians and Eugenists to decide but that it is come to stay and gain ascendancy is more than saints can prevent. A cautious propagandist like Mrs. Sanger is certainly aware of the dangers of its misuse but the benefits far outweigh its demerits. A well-wisher of mankind will far rather see life made richer by healthy sex sports and not rendered gloomy by the fear of certain catastrophic risk of overpopulation than that men and women shall be false to the realities of things by practising self-control involving close-cropped heads for women and such other ungainly aids to sex purity. The safe-period and "no sex life excepting for begetting a child" theories are unworkable for the very good reason that the safe-period is as unreliable as it is not possible to make any one sex act bring forth childbearing results.

Hero-worship is a quality worthy of admiration. It is unnatural not to admire greatness and not to see the good in things, but there is a way of doing it in the least provocative way. The cause that Mrs. Sanger has at heart is intended for the benefit of mankind and not to let loose forces of evil. So long as human nature is what it is, it is not possible to keep anything in a state of unmixed good. Good and evil are mixed up in the would and unless evil is noted good cannot be distinguished. Was Civil Disobedience left untried by Gandiji because of its untold potentialities for mischief in the disciplined life of the citizen? So let it be so with harmless and controllable a device to reduce the ills of life as Birth control.

A. Malthusian.

RESIST THE COMING REFORMS

By

A Congressman

Within a short time the New Reforms will be inaugurated in this country on the basis of the New Government of India Act of 1935, which has been passed by the British Parliament in flagrant violation of the most inviolable rights of the Indian people: the right of self-determination. The Act has been framed with the definite idea of widening the social basis of British imperialism in this country by drawing in the reactionary feudal elements on one hand and offering concessions to the propertied classes on the other. The Executive is armed with autocratic powers which at once destroy the semblance of administrative reform which is proposed and render the constitution more obnoxious.

Defeating the surging tide of nationalism British imperialism has carried out its nefarious purpose. Having prepared the scheme it is now seeking to press it on the country, with all possible means. No group has welcomed this instalment of the reforms. Every progressive party has condemned it as retrograde and reactionary. Yet imperialism is determined to carry through its plan of stabilization with the help of its allies, the Indian upper classes. The country is being gradually prepared for the nonce by increasing repression on the militant forces of nationa-

lism and the working class movement and progressive conciliation with the upper classes.

The working of the new constitution will stabilize imperialism ; the national movement will be completely crushed out of existence for the time being ; the radical forces in the country and the working class movement will be driven into wilderness ; the economic exploitation of the masses will be intensified with the steady degradation of their standard of living and imperialism will thrive for years to come on the pauperization of the Indian people.

The supreme need of the moment is a concerted plan to defeat the purpose of imperialism. All the forces which have expressed their dissatisfaction with the New Reforms should be arrayed as a mighty unit to oppose and resist the imperialist scheme and defend whatever liberties exist in the country. Such a united front was formed eight years ago when the Simon Commission came to this country. Congress, labour and liberals joined hands in opposing the Commission and expressing their dissatisfaction. Imperialism succeeded in breaking up this united front because the forces of nationalism were not strong enough and welded on the basis of a positive programme. The purely negative attitude of boycott without raising the immediate and fundamental issues of the national struggle, defeated itself ending in surrender and capitulation. To-day, after eight years, we are again faced with a similar situtation. The experience gained during these years should make us wiser and more careful in avoiding the dangers and pitfalls ahead.

The Indian National Congress alone is competent to build and lead the united front against the New Reforms. It has already decided at its last session to reject the Reforms. It has also obtained the sanction of the enfranchised section of the people at the last election for this policy of rejection and to raise the issue of self-determination.

The forces that helped imperialism in framing the constitution, in its various stages, at the Round Table Conference and after are historically destined and are therefore inevitably inclined to work out the scheme. Their dissatisfaction does not raise the fundamental issue and cannot therefore sustain itself against the temptation of the few crumbs. In the past the dissatisfaction and opposition to the Simon Commission slowly dwindled down to final cooperation. Again the same phenomenon is visible in the country. Slowly and steadily the upper classes are moving towards the working of the constitution for what it is worth. The liberals, the communal groups and the parliamentary wing of the Congress are definitely inclined for the acceptance of offices and are gradually trying to commit the Congress to this reactionary and harmful policy.

The Congress must assert itself. It must rise out of the lethargy into which it has sunk since the failure of the C. D. Movement. Its only alternative programme of parliamentary action is logically carrying it to the acceptance of offices and the working of the constitution. The issue of acceptance or non-acceptance should not have arisen after having decided to reject the constitution. It has been raised as a smoke screen for the retreat and final betrayal. The suggestion of wrecking by acceptance of office is ridiculous and is worth no consideration. The Congress must wake up to the danger and arrest this tendency before it is too late.

If it is to remain as the instrument of the Indian people for national liberation and social reconstruction, Congress must definitely avoid the disaster ahead of it. Acceptance of office on any pretext will take the Congress back by decades. It must lead to a

coalition with the liberals on the basis of liberalism, followed by the abandoning the goal of complete independence. Congress will be forced to take up policies which had long been given up as futile when it resorted to mass direct action. It will cease to be a fighting organ of the masses and if that calamity occurs, fifty years of selfless service and willing sacrifice of thousands will be wiped out. The country will remain for the time being without leadership, doomed to be trampled once more under the heel of imperialism and to remain for years to come in its political shackle subjected to the ravages of economic exploitation.

Congress must fight on a common platform of economic and political demands by a mass movement organized in support of it.

We recognize that the Congress will find it impossible to wreck the new constitution as there will be others to work it. We do not suggest that the Congress by attempting such a futile task should give the autocratic governors the pretext to dissolve the legislatures and exercise the powers personally when we are not in a position to resist. This by itself will not create a mass movement. On the contrary it may expose the national forces prematurely to the onslaughts of repression and terrorization which will defeat our purpose and give a set back to the movement. The Congress need not therefore talk of wrecking the constitution, by accepting offices, at the same time congress should not aim at a coalition with the liberals, on the basis of liberalism for the purpose of working it. Congress must preserve itself from the dangers of pure constitutionalism and remain in tact as the leader of direct mass action. If this is to be achieved we cannot ask the liberals to join the Congress. It is futile to expect that the liberals would accept the Congress objective or Congress method. There must remain the goal and endeavour of the masses under the exclusive leadership of the Congress. The liberals and progressive nationalists and the independent labour movement are however dissatisfied with the reforms and can be rallied in opposition on the broadest platform based on concrete amendments to the constitution together with such immediate political and economic demands as will mobilize the support of the masses: The amendments should include:

1. Universal adult franchise;
2. Full responsibility at centre;
3. Reduction of safeguards to minimum;
4. Provision for a constitutional convention based on adult franchise for effecting amendments to the constitution;
5. Guarantee of freedom of speech, press and association;

Followed by the demand for constitutional amendments to be effected within a period of six months and the repeal of all repressive laws.

The economic demands should include:

1. Reduction of land revenue and rent;
2. Provision of cheap credit for the peasants;
3. Moratorium of all payments of debts and interests at least for the next five years;
4. Eight hours day and social insurance against old age, sickness, unemployment, maternity etc.
5. Recognition of trade unions.

The elections to the new legislatures fought on the basis of this platform will gain the sanction of the enfranchised sections of the people for this policy and the backing of the masses should be obtained through mass meetings, conferences and agitation. With the popular sanction behind it the pressing of these issues in the new legislatures will release the necessary mass energy requisite for asserting the popular will in a constitutional convention to register it.

If on the basis of this platform the liberals and others refuse to form an alliance then the Congress must lead the opposition alone. Its Parliamentary activity in that case must be concretely linked up with the mass agitation outside on the basis of these demands as well as the basic demand for the Constituent Assembly.

Having laid down clearly the lines of opposition the immediate task of the national movement will be simplified. It must then inevitably travel the road to success in reaching the goal of the Constituent Assembly for asserting the right of self-determination of the Indian people, and laying down the constitution of free India. The stages of developing the mass movement necessary for the purpose will unfold themselves in the near future on the achievement of a country - wide opposition to the reforms and in avoiding the greatest disaster hidden behind the acceptance of office by the Congress.

UPTON SINCLAIR AND GOD

(The following is an extract from the first of a series of three articles written by Upton Sinclair in the Human Home Companion under the heading *What God Means to Me*. There can hardly be anybody who does not know Upton Sinclair and his views. Admirers of the great author who have read his Profits of Religion would be glad to read this concise and simple illustration of his idea of God. In a world of material greed and sceptical suspicion, this author-idealist holds his own by sheer power of expression and transparent sincerity. His unshakable belief in truth and humanity as evidenced by his Herculean efforts to find a solution for the ills of his country through his Epic plan is visible in his exposition of God means to him. His articles is a valuable contribution to the religious thought of the world...Ed. *New Age*).

Very early in life I made up my mind on this matter. I do not brew any poison in my soul. When I come upon a cup which I know contains poison, I do not drink it, but empty it into the sewer. I do not let anybody persuade me that it is my duty to drink poison. I do not think that it is noble-minded, heroic or brave to drink poison. I do not think that I prove my love of truth by drinking poison. Nor do I let myself be affected by the fact that the poison has a marvellous sweet odour, or a glowing ruby colour, not because it is in jewelled cup.

By this I mean that attitudes to life which produce despair and weaken the will and creative impulse are false attitudes, and I judge them false by the only test which has any validity—their effect upon human life. We arrived where we are by constructive effort, and we can only advance beyond that by more constructive effort. That impulse to develop our faculties is the thing by which we live, the very nature of us.

So you see what I mean by religion. I mean faith in the wellspring of my own soul, the creative impulses which awaken there, or emerge from there. I don't know what they are, fundamentally and guess is that I shall never know; but I learn what I can and seek to know more and find pleasure in the seeking. I am sustained by a sense of worthwhiles of what I am doing; a trust in the good faith of the process which created me and sustains me. That process I call God. The reason

why I do is because it is a short Anglo-Saxon word, as convenient a counter as any. If my materialist friends prefer to say Nature, or Universe; if my philosophical friends prefer *elan vital* with Bengson, or life Force with Bernard Shaw, or Cosmic Consciousness with Bucke, or first cause with Plato, or Noumenon with Kant—that is all right with me.

If you ask me precisely what I mean by God, I answer you as I did the fundamentalist preacher who sent me a questionnaire during the political campaign. Do you believe in God? If yes, define what you mean. My answer was; "The infinite cannot be defined.

What else could I say? I don't know what God is. I know a few manifestations of his activity—a bit more than an oyster knows, but not more, much more, as compared with the total—

Yet here I am; having to live my life here and now, on the basis of what I know and not of something which may be discovered tomorrow. I have to make a guess at God's nature and what he wants me to do. The only clue I have is this wellspring of my soul, moment by moment, hour by hour, day by day. Certain things make it flow freely and happily; God seems to be pleased with me. But suddenly comes a change; something has gone wrong; God seems to be angry, there is lightning in my spiritual sky, and I am frightened and try to find out what I have done to displease the Almighty One.

This is the language of our racial childhood; and the facts remain what they were in the days of those mental children, our ancestors, God is what helps life and the devil is what hurts it and our changing concepts of both represent our efforts to grope our way to better understanding of a bewildering universe.

And so it is that I believe in God. So it is that I believe in a *personal* God; a something, operating at the centre of this Universe, which creates, maintains and comprehends my personality and all other personalities those which were, and those which are, and those which have yet to be; a something which causes by being—otherwise it would not be; which sustains my being—otherwise I should not conform to any pattern, but should become a chaos.

I go farther yet and assert that the truth of the statements may be experimentally determined. I say that the God who is in you, who sustains you, is alive and that he will prove it to you; that he will work with you, and you can work with him. I say that I have proved that in my own life whenever I have taken time to try. I say that you can prove it in your life, whenever you take time to try. I say that this is no figment of mysticism or of superstition, but a fact of psychology, which can be stated in scientific terms so that scientific men will accept it.

The *New Age* Annual Numuber will contain bright features, interesting articles and special stories.

TRADE UNIONS IN SOVIET REPUBLIC

Important Administrative Functions

(*By.* **I. W. Williams.**)

Trade unionism in capitalist society was created out of the struggle by the workers for a form of defence against the exploitation of the modern capitalist class. From its inception it has continued that struggle with varying degrees of success, both from an economic and political basis. Here in Australia, it has developed into a bargaining machine, having a certain legal standing, and receiving the blessing of Governments of various shades of opinion, so long as it abides by the decisions of the various tribunals established by those governments.

When a comparison of the position in the capitalist world of Unionism, is made with the position of Unionism in Russia, one realises how important it is to build and preserve Unionism against the day when the inevitable and capitalism arrive. In the U.S.S.R., the means of life, the mills, mines, factory, transport and land belong to the workers, and here we see the Trade Union Movement filling a very important role, and carrying out very important functions. These functions include administration of industry, control of social insurance, labor protection (research and application), political, social, and cultural activities, active participation in technical education, and organisation of physical culture.

Administrative Responsibilities

In the field of administration, the members of the Trade Union, which can include every worker in the industry, elects representatives from each section and shop, who in conjunction with the Technical management and representatives of the workers who are members of the Comunist party, arrange wages, canditions, provision for materials, and provision for extension of plant and operations. Through the information supplied by the workers on the job, the unions take an important part in the designing and execution of the planned economy of Russia, that we have heard so much about (5 Years Plan).

This planning could not be successful without the active participation of the workers, and the trade unions provide the machinery for such participation. The unions provide the channel through which the Communist Party impart political and social guidance to the mass of the workers. As each problem arises, and the solution is arrived at, it is through the Trade Union that the worker is reached, to overcome the obstacle. The administration of the whole of the social insurance machinery has been handed over to the Trade Unions. This embodies medical services, clinics, rest-homes, sick pay, etc., that are attached to the various industries.

Control of Research Institutes

The control of Research Institutes, which function for the development of safety devices of many kinds, including ventilation, lighting, elimination of dust, noxious gases, extreme heat, noise, and danger of high tension

electrical apparatus, come under the activities of the Trade Unions. These institutes are situated in various cities throughout the Union. Ten such institutes in Leningrad employ 200 scientific workers continuously. The results are followed up with labor inspection organisations to ensure the application of the protection devices on the job; paid inspectors are assisted by voluntary workers on the job. Club and cultural activities are organised in all industries, also physical culture movements. These latter functions take the union into the workers' leisure time and assist them to employ that time to the greatest profit.

The educational efforts of the Trade Unions are devoted to helping the workers to develop themselves to their fullest capacity, and so make each one a competent and conscientious builder of the socialist State. The growth of the national economy of the U. S. S. R. is strikingly reflected in the budget of the Trade Unions. Here, also, is reflected the growth of cultural and social services for Trade Unions' members.

Trade Union Budget

The Trade Union Budget has increased during the last four years from 621,000,000 roubles in 1931, to 1336.6 million roubles in 1935, while membership dues have been reduced from 2 per cent. to 1 per cent. of the wages.

The expenditure on cultural and social services for trade unions' members constitutes an ever-greater proportion of this budget, as may be seen from the following table:—

	1930 per cent.	1934 Plan, per cent.	1935 Plan, per cent.
Proportion of expenditure on cultural and social services for T. U. members in the Budget of Trade Unions	58.4	68	73.2
Expenditure on cultural and social services in roubles per one T.U. member ..	17.07	38.17	46.2

Union Clubs

Four thousand five hundred clubs are operating at present, and are increasing as development of industry increases. These clubs provide cultural facilities, libraries, study circles, etc., rest and recreation, and are capable of providing for between 1½ and 2 million persons per day. The network of cinema apparatus controlled by the trade unions has grown more than two-fold during the first five-year plan, and comprises 70 per cent. of all urban cinemas.

Broadcasting Stations.

Nearly 1,500 trade union broadcasting relay stations comprise the main mass of the factory and plant radio relay system. So, we find, that in the building of the new society that trade unionism takes on a task for which it is most fitted by virtue of the fact that it is in the form of organistion that is most closely woven into the economic life of the toilers. The Union Movement in U. S. S. R is serving the workers in a manner that could not be accomplished by any other method of organisation.

THE GERMAN CHALLENGE

FRANCE CANNOT HAVE IT BOTH WAYS

(*By* **A. G. Venkatachary**)

Hitler has thundered forth his challenge to world peace in his Neurotic fashion. Three years ago he denounced the unjust Versailles Treaty and has now chosen to treat as a mere scrap of paper the Locarno Treaty which by no stretch of imagination can be described as dictated. It is necessary for dictators to devise various means to continue in their entrenched position. To compensate for economic bankruptcy, inevitable under their hegemony, they drug the people with the opiate of sensation, and thrill, however patent their utter uselessness is. Under the guise of demanding for Germans the right to live as other Europeans, he has stated unequivocally that his rearmament means nothing more and nothing less than a determination to solve the problem set at Versailles. The last resort of Fascism to solve the economic problem of the masses is to offer them as cannon fodder in a campaign of colonial expansion. That has been amply demonstrated by Mussolini, and Hitler could do no better than follow the footsteps of his big brother. As the Ual-Ual incident was made out to be the excuse for Mussolini's starting the Abyssinian war, even so, Hitler has cited the Franco-Soviet Pact, as holding in store latent aggression on Germany and calling for his immediate march into the till-now demilitarised Rhineland, to safeguard the Fatherland. The entire world knows that both the excuses mentioned above are too thin to deceive anybody. What Hitler has up his sleeves is annexation of France in the west and the Ukraine in the East, with the necessary territories in between. That is how he proposes to solve the problem set at Versailles. His seven points, which he wants to be accepted if the world his anxious to avoid a great conflict are provocative in the extreme. France made a gesture of Peace by offering to open negotiations within the framework of the League, but insisted on Rhineland being evacuated forthwith. Germany has definitely refused to comply with this, and hence this problem comes up before the League Council on Friday the 13th instant. To compel Germany to evacuate the demilitarised zone, France urges on the League to enforce immediate international economic sanctions against her. Belgium has sent a similar note to Geneva. Britain with her usual policy of pursuing the line of least resistance, however conflicting it might be with fundamentals, has, in common with Poland, declared that while she is prepared to stand by France and Belgium, in honour bound as a Locarno Power, she is not averse (with the ultimate object of Peace in view) to objectively examine Hitler's proposals.

Italy's reaction shows her vacillating attitude. While desirous—nay even anxious to stand by France with a view to utilise the present psychological moment to drive a hard bargain regarding the partition of Abyssinia, she is equally doubtful if such a course will be fruitful enough.

She cannot afford positively to oppose Hitler and jeopardise the only escape open to her by an alliance with Germany and Japan—so indispensable to start a real world war in the course of which, each one of the Fascist allies can try to draw as much chemists from the fire as possible for themselves. The chances of peaceful penetration or colonial justice are little; and as such, expansion for them means but War.

Under these gloomy circumstances the League machinery sets to work. Tendencies only point towards a Great European War in the near future. For the creation of such a state of affairs the great European Powers and especially France have to take the almost entire blame.

During the 'world-war to end war,' over twenty million souls were blotted out. But the old story of the years leading up to 1914 has repeated itself. Then Germany was painted as the villain of the piece. As the murderous game began and ended then, so it begins now, and will end undoubtedly, in an even more calamitous "peace." For, the technique of war is now tremendously improved and the possible belligerents are all well-equipped with the devices, science and invention have so perfected as to be capable of wiping out whole cities in a few hours.

When some years ago, an attempt was made to arrive at an international understanding that bombing from the air should be prohibited it is a sad fact that it was the British Government who effectively blocked it. Even as early as 10th November 1932, long before Hitler's coming to power, Stanley Baldwin held before the British public the picture of a possible German menace to cover up British re-armament with a cloak of seeming necessity. Hitler replied to the challenge of Britain by ordering conscription, the moment he felt he can drive a successful bargain. The French Government followed up with its call for conscript reserves. Mussolini ordered to the colours at the first instance, the entire 1911 class of conscripts. Thus it was a rake's progress —the entire European nations competing in the Arms-Race.

At the same time, Hitler succeeded in unifying the German nation on the basis of outright denunciation of the 'barbarous and criminal dictated Peace' signed at Versailles in 1918. The German nation was undoubtedly humiliated when the victors, sweeping away President Wilson's conditions, rammed down the throats of the German people terms highly insulting to the self-respect of a brave and highly-civilised nation. History nailed to counter the German war-guilt lie and Hitler was able to move a whole nation round his personality, with a sacred pledge to restore the Fatherland's honour and redeem her lost prestige, colonies and rights. To a large extent he has succeeded, whatever might be said about the methods he had adopted. When he said that the Allied Powers, (whose only presents to post-war Germany were economic blockade, usurious exactions of indemnities, war-debts and reparations) would listen to no argument but force, the Allied Powers *knew* that he did not bluff. Knowing that Germany was secretly re-arming, they could have changed their policy and admitted that the Versailles Treaty was a criminal blunder based on a lie. But that is not the way with Imperialism. So, now we are back to the 1914 position. The remedy France suggests now—of applying sanctions—is most certainly to be the harbinger of a gigantic holocaust.

What about the role of France? Till recently she has been the leader of the League. She had with Great Britain "dished" the ex-German colonies, and Mussolini whose only let was disappointment at the hands of these two astute powers, clamoured in common with Germany so recently was 1934 for a revision of

Treaty. France, with the ever-present fear of German aggression realised that it was in her paramount interests to detach Italy from her friendly relations with Germany. The Barthou negotiations resulted in a guarantee by Italy of Austrian independence and a cession by France of a portion of French Somaliland, rights over the Djibouti-Addis Ababa Railway and an unhindered charter to have a free play in Abyssinia of course not in conflict with French interests. The Roma Pact signed on the 7th January last year, signifying the above points was a tacit understanding that France would see to it of her own accord, and through her influence with Britain, that no diplomatic difficulties were raised if Italy declared war on Abyssinia.

But when the war actually broke out and world opinion within and without the League had to be satisfiied France found herself in a fix. She could not do anything which would drive Mussolini into the arms of Hitler. Her policy since the war, had all along been to consolidate the rest of Europe against Germany. So, to keep up the Stresa front, she definitely stood against immediate and effective League action. As Britain did not reveal disinclination for rapproachment with Germany France felt all the more an imperative need for a pact with the U. S. S. R. and also the maintenance intact of Italy's friendship. However much France desired to allow Mussolini to carve up Abyssinia, she could not drag Britain the wholehog with her. British opinion, largely influenced by the overwhelming support for the League, drove the British Government more and more to demand the pressure of the League machinery to prevent the Italian rape of Abyssinia. France found herself in a quandary. If she deserted League opinion and permitted Italian aggression she would lose British support. To support Britain in operating the League machinery against Italy would only drive Mussolini back to the arms of Germany through some compromise agreement over Austria.

It was in the midst of these diplomatic manoeuvres that the covenant was brought into real play for the first time in the sixteen years of existence of League.

France at every turn definitely stood in the way of a speedy termination of war, by manoeuvring against the extension of sanctions on vital war-material as oil. Hitler, having made sure of the ineffectiveness, in practice, of the League machinery to stop aggression has carefully come out with an expansionist drive. Before commencing his campaign, he has been shrewd enough to partially wean away Mussolini from his allegienceto the Stresa powers by impressing him with the 'devilish underhand workings of France and Britain.' He has removed the only thorn in the way of Germany. Thus confident of at least one great ally in Europe who could be trusted upon in a powerful drive for colonies, Hitler has challenged the world's might. Conscious of the fact that Britain is out to compromise with Germany, and also of the only bulwark of France, the U.S.S.R. he has in his latest utterance, attacked in violent language the Soviets and the Franco-Soviet Pact. When at this juncture, panicky France appeals for the "immediate enforcement of international sanctions against Germany" for having violated the Peace Treaty and the Locarno Pact, does she forget, that it seems fantastically strange? When Abyssinia was the victim of diabolical aggression at the hands of an immensely superior foe, France refused to encounter the idea of effective sanctions. How does it now lie in her mouth to ask the nations of the world to come to her help with 'immediate sanctions' against a Power that has technically 'aggressed' her own territory, however much it constituted a violation of a solemn pact, and however dangerous might be its consequences.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

The 40 Hour Week

It is too much to expect even in highly organised industrial countries for the forces of progress to succeed against the united opposition of the state and the employers. As such, it is little surprising that the Indian Legislative Assembly, constituted as it is, sets its face against ratification of the International convention of a 40 Hour week. The Labour members of the Assembly urged the acceptance of the principle through ratification, and make efforts to bring it progressively into force. We have now in India the 54 hour week, the legislation for which was strenuously opposed by industrialists and money-bags. Though India, by her adhesion to the Versailles Treaty agreed on the 48 Hour week so long ago as 1918, this ominous united front of Imperialism and Indian capitalism against the progress of the masses has resisted the scheme and their unbridled sway of industrial labour continues as it is.

Unless the working-class leaders, instead of trying to get votes for themselves and their pet theories, make an intensified effort at organising the workers on their immediate minimum demands, it will be futile to talk about the opposition from vested interests. Imperialism and Capitalism are hard nuts to crack, and do not give way until indomitable force is brought to bear on it.

In a typical country with a standard of living worst in the world it is but just that the workers should not be prematurely done to death through sweated labour. It is high time for the first shot in the campaign for the inauguration of a 40 hour week to be fired. There are good prospects if only the workers are sufficiently and properly organised.

Nobody can claim that the 40 hour week or even a thirty hour week, will abolish unemployment entirely. But it will go a long way towards providing the workers sufficient leisure to recuperate at least a portion of their fast-diminishing energy, besides reducing the amount of unemployment so far as it goes. In no country which calls itself civilised are the workers allowed to work more than 48 hours. Many European countries which have been slow to move are ratifying the forty hours week. The U. S. A. and the U.S.S.R. have a 36 and 30 hour week respectively. So, the proposal of a 40 hour week for India is not a fantastic proposal. It will result in the reduction of the intensity of exploitation practised by the employers on the workers. If the workers organise themselves on the basis of a 40 hour week, and other minimum economic demands, they can play their role effectively in the inevitable final struggle for political emancipation and real economic freedom.

It is to be hoped, especially in the face of the barefaced attack launched against them by the ruling class through the Mody Amendment to the Wages Payment Bill, the workers and their leaders would intensify their organisational and propaganda work, among all sections of industrial workers. If that propaganda and organisational work is to be successful, there should be no delay in commencing it.

Miserable Plight of the Unemployed

Well-fed pigs living on the sweated exploitation of the downtrodden have in our country little sympathy with job-seeking have-nots. They are, to

them, mere loafers obtruding on their largesse. They are utterly impervious to the urge of hunger and say that poverty and destitution are utterly irrepairable. They go even a step further and say they are inevitable and ordained by the invisible fate. Entrenched in their present positions of vantage they look askance at poverty and destitution. They know that the widely prevalent human misery and despair are a direct consequence of their own doings, and can in a large measure be removed, if only they believe sincerely in human values. All thinking men and women know the actual state of affairs and are visibly moved by suffering and want. But the sineeure feeling: "Each one for himself and the Devil take the hindmost" seems to be so thoroughly ingrained in most of us that in course of time, even the sympathetically-minded lose their faculty to think in terms of human life. They become inert and a certain amount of indifference and pusillanimity overtakes them.

In fact, there has been a growing tendency to shirk the problem, pointing out its huge dimensions, possible great costs and the country's poor resources. Political Satraps, Finance members and politicians are wantonly committing the crime of indulging in the specious pastime of devising plausible excuses, convenient sophistries and pious platitudes. Unless the millions of the unemployed in the country unite, organise and agitate for the recognition of their right to live and live decently, it is foolish to expect any turn for the better. Let there be no hallucinations about sentimental gibberism. Let no one doubt the fact that there can be no justice for the master till the roots of exploitation are cut under.

The Pope and Peace

It has been the traditional belief that the Papacy is a historic institution secure in its influence and strength. But recent happenings have more than proved that the status of the Papacy is merely chimerical. Though the spiritual loyalty of catholic Christendom can be taken for granted far as a number of countries concerned, it has in its own home, demonstrably proved to be a very embarrassing and highly impotent appendix to a powerful militarist state. Some four years ago, when Signor Mussolini was not so strongly entrenched as now, he had to recognise the temporal sovereignty of the Pope over his mundane territories. But that it did not really mean any change in his interest in outlook is evident from the manner he has suppressed the great ruler of the Catholic Church, and successfully prevented him from speaking out his mind on the Abyssinian question. The Papacy, supposed to symbolise the permanent validity of defined moral principles in the world of secular politics, has to Mussolini become a mere symbol of the unwanted part, an inevitably distasteful institution. It was hinted even a few years ago that the new accord between the Vatican and the Duce will intensify the Fascist character of the Roman Church, and that the Papacy will be used by Mussolini as an instrument of his own. This tendencious prophecy has become absolutely true. *The Concordats* between the Church and himself has been used by Mussolini to emphasise and play upon the national instincts of the Catholic people and wield them into a steady bulwark against all forces of progress and democratic well-being. The Pope has been so thoroughly suppressed that the Vatican diplomatic machine is being used with impunity in the service of Fascist brigandage. Though the Pope must have been righteously indignant the Damocles sword ever hanging over him in the shape of an unscrupulous dictator, he could not even protest against the debasement of his influence. He has been reduced to such a farce! The Fascist *stream roller* has levelled spiritual as well as the temporal glory of Rome, in its savage thirst far war.

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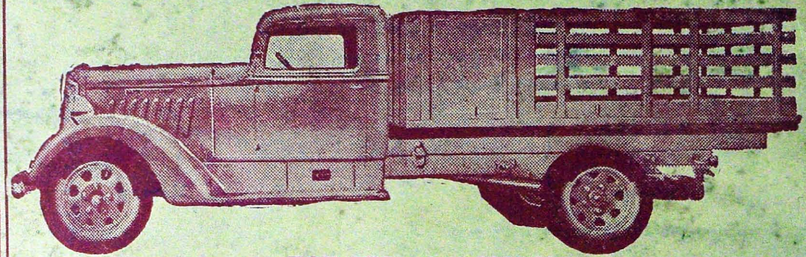

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